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Dominika Gortych

Keywords: post-GDR literature, the breakthrough of 1989/1990 in contemporary literature, neo-Nazi ideology, German reunification, literature as a part of public discourse

The aim of the present study is to reconstruct the image of the neo-Nazi movement in East Germany in the years 1990-2015 on the basis of selected pieces of post-GDR literature. The analysis is based on two prose debuts from 2017 and 2018: *Als ich mit Hitler Schnapskirschen aß* by Manja Präkels (born 1974), and *Mit der Faust in die Welt schlagen* by Lukas Rietzschel (born 1994).

This material is supplemented by current sociological and political studies on the situation of the new Lands, and contemporary racism and xenophobia. The analysis presented here draws from the cultural paradigm in literature studies. The main thesis relates to the influence of the GDR as an authoritarian state and the resulting negative patterns of socialization on the development and strengthening of antidemocratic attitudes. This assumption finds confirmation in the constructed worlds of the analyzed novels and in the biographies of their main characters. Civic deficiency and the lack of inter-generational communication, resulting from, among others, the fear of historical responsibility, lead to the collapse of the world order and existence of the generations maturing after the fall of the Berlin Wall. This proves the high relevance of German unification problems even today, i.e. thirty years after the breakthrough of 1989/1990.

The author makes an attempt to trace and analyze the above mentioned processes in literary narrative forms.

Norbert Honka

Keywords: local government, commune, district, federal state, federation

Local government is one of the most important institutions of a democratic rule of law in Germany. Its position and role was basically shaped immediately after the end of World War II. The purpose of this article is an attempt to present and evaluate the systemic and structural

changes that have taken place in German local government within 30 years of the post-unification period.

The hypothesis of this study is as follows: The political and structural changes of German local government in the last 30 years have been directed towards making the activities of its bodies and institutions more effective as well as strengthening and deepening democracy, influencing the authorities in power, rather than towards forming a unified law and model of local government.

The issue of the political and structural transformation of the German local government can be analyzed from the point of view of the political sciences, legal sciences, historical sciences and geographical sciences. This is made possible by the multidimensional and diverse matter of this issue. Therefore, the methods used in the course of the present study were those appropriate to the historical sciences, the statistical method, the method of system analysis, the institutional and legal method, the decision-making method and the deductive method, as well as research techniques such as the examination of documents, analysis and criticism of the existing literature of the subject and secondary analysis of the results of research conducted by other authors.

It was found in the course of the study that the political and structural transformations of the German local government which took place as a result of non-unified reforms did not lead to the creation of a uniform local government legislation for the whole country, despite the similarity of many legal solutions. These changes served the purpose of a more effective management of various forms of territorial self-government, the development of democracy and a greater influence of citizens on public authorities.

Adam Kirpsza

Keywords: European Union, Germany in the European Union, Council of the European Union, legislative process in the EU, bargaining success in the EU, voting in the Council of the EU

The purpose of the article is to empirically verify the hypothesis, derived from the theory of voting power, that Germany is a hegemon in the Council of the EU, determining the outcomes of negotiations in this institution and being the most successful in attaining its

preferences. This claim - firmly rooted in both scientific literature and public opinion - is tested by analyzing the bargaining success of all member states, including Germany, in the Council, measured as the number of times they contested (voted against or abstained from voting) EU legislative acts in the years 2009-2019. Three statistical techniques are used for this purpose: descriptive statistics, linear regression and multidimensional scaling.

Overall, the hypothesis on Germany's hegemony was not corroborated. On the contrary, this country was found to be among the least successful states in this institution. Such a conclusion stems from the following findings. First, the descriptive statistics revealed that Germany is one of the countries that most often contest EU legislation and lose votes in the Council. Second, a linear regression showed that Germany's success in the Council is statistically significantly lower than that of other member states. As a result, this country is among the three biggest losers in this institution. Third, a multidimensional scaling analysis demonstrated that Germany has major difficulties in building winning coalitions and blocking minorities in the Council, since it has virtually no permanent or close coalition partner. The article argues that such peripheral position of Germany in the Council is due to the extremity of its preferences and its low propensity to grant concessions in negotiations. At the same time, the article predicts that Germany would continue to be isolated in the Council and its success would remain low after the UK's withdrawal from the EU.

Malwina Ewa Kołodziejczak

Keywords: Commander-in-Chief; national security management system; Chancellor; minister of national defence; chief of staff; national security

The article presents the conditions and regulations regarding the functioning of the equivalent of the Commander-in-Chief in Germany in the context of the national security management system.

The purpose of the article is to characterize the conditions resulting from legal acts, strategic documents and practice (custom) in force in Germany as regards the functioning of the equivalent of the Commander-in-Chief. The main problem is included in the question: What are the legal and organizational conditions for the functioning of the equivalent of the Commander-in-Chief in Germany?

It seems that the experience and legal bases in force in the Federal Republic of Germany clearly indicate the tasks and competences, as well as the organizational subordination of the equivalent of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

Bogdan Koszel

Keywords: Germany, European Commission, 2005-2019

The European Commission, acting as an executive power and initiator of the EU legislative process, was in the 21st century at the center of Germany's European policy.

First of all, German politicians wanted to: 1. ensure the appointment, in accordance with their wishes, of the President of the Commission 2. provide the German candidates with the most important and prestigious positions in each college; 3. obtain the possibility of influencing the course of the EC's work.

In the opinion of the author of the article, the Germans under Chancellor A. Merkel succeeded in achieving most of these goals, due to the growing importance of the Federal Republic of Germany in the European Union and in the international arena.

The article uses the institutional and legal, comparative and decision-making methods.

Mariusz Kozerski

Keywords: Bavaria, party system, national elections in Bavaria, CSU, dominant party

After 1945 a specific party system emerged in Bavaria, based on the dominance of the Christian Social Union (CSU).

The aim of the article is to examine the period preceding the rise of this stable system and to present its elements: Bavarian parliamentary groups. The questions asked in the study concern the reasons for such a significant remodeling of the system in the 1960s and the sources of the political successes of the CSU.

The formulated thesis refers to the strategies of the Bavarian Christian Democrats aimed (initially) at obtaining and then maintaining power: the CSU strove to present itself as a regional party with a broad public support by simultaneously highlighting the issues of progress and modernity on the one hand, and tradition and attachment to the homeland, on the other. In order

to gain a broader view of Bavaria's party system in its initial form, the article references the political and economic situation in the country after World War II.

The study used the historical-analytical method, and in connection with developing a vision of the future of the Bavarian party system and the place of the CSU in it – the extrapolation method was applied.

Krzysztof Kozbial

Keywords: reunification of Germany, former GDR, East Germany, unemployment, systemic transformation

30 years after the German Democratic Republic was incorporated into Germany, the process of reunification of Germany still seems unfinished. The eastern part of Germany still differs in some respects from the west.

The article analyzes the political and social consequences of reunification for the eastern federal states. The conclusions indicate that in terms of specific political behaviour (lower elections turnouts, voting for extreme groups: *Die Linke* - previously *PDS* - and now also for *AfD*, and finally sceptical attitude towards democracy) or social behaviour (negative consequences of permanent unemployment, migrations to the west of the country, deindustrialization) the eastern federal states of Germany are noticeably different from the western ones. In many respects, the area of the former GDR resembles former socialist states in which the process of systemic transformation also took place.

It is therefore difficult to assess when the effects of the merger of the two German states will no longer be noticeable. It cannot be ruled out that this process will last for several decades.

The study employed the historical analytical method.

Beata Ociepka

Keywords: foreign cultural policy, cultural diplomacy, Germany, dialogue, international conflict.

The German foreign cultural policy has been attracting more and more attention of the academia. The aim of the article entitled “German foreign cultural policy after the reunification – security, dialogue, promotion” is to discuss its development and stress its specifics after the reunification of Germany in 1990.

The analysis of the German foreign cultural policy poses a relevant research problem as it exceeds the traditional approaches rooted in similar cases in the studies on public diplomacy or nation branding. The author verifies the hypothesis that German foreign cultural policy contributes not only to the development of the international cultural cooperation and country promotion but also to wider purposes as security and international dialogue. Consequently, foreign policy analysis is the research method in the current study.

The author indicates the historical and internal context for the structures, aims and strategies of German foreign cultural policy, as displayed in documents, reports and public debate. The German model is verified on two cases of foreign cultural policy (case studies): German Year in Russia 2012-2013 and the Year of German Language and Literature in Russia 2014-2015, realized by Germany directly before and during the Ukrainian crisis.

The cases studied allowed to check, how the structures and strategies of German foreign cultural policy worked at the time of war in the eastern Ukraine as and international conflict. Their goals, programs and effects serve as proofs for the persisting relevance of dialogue in the German approach to international conflicts and for the growing politicization of German foreign cultural policy.

Jarosław Owsiański

Keywords: football, sports clubs, sports associations, German football, partitions of Poland, German Empire, Treaty of Versailles.

The article discusses the origins of football on the territory of Germany and the gradual expansion of this sports discipline to the eastern provinces. The present study is an attempt to recreate, in a synthetic overview, the accomplishments of German football on the territory of the Prussian partition of Poland in the aspect of organizational development, games played, achievements of clubs and the successes of teams in sporting competition up to the outbreak of World War I.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the German Football Association (DFB) was created, which coordinated the activities of football associations in particular provinces of the German Empire. This contributed to the development of football in the eastern provinces as well. Each year, more and more German clubs were formed; they took part in championship competitions at the level of districts and regional associations. Football teams representing the association participated in the Crown Prince Cup competition (Kronprinzenpokal). German games impacted on the initiation of Polish football development in this area, independently of the advance of the discipline in Galicia. The rapid growth of football was stopped by the outbreak of World War I. After the war, under the Treaty of Versailles and as a result of the outbreak of the Greater Poland Uprising, these lands returned within the borders of Poland, which caused mass emigration of Germans to the Reich. These facts brought about changes in the national and historical consciousness, resulting in the lack of interest in the issue of German football development in the Polish territories of the Prussian partition among sports historians of both countries.

The development of German football and its impact on the growth of Polish football in Greater Poland, Kuyavia, and Gdańsk Pomerania were assessed on the basis of historical sources and scientific studies. Analysis of the extant source materials, press publications of that time and historical studies was also used.

Joanna Rak

Keywords: protest movement, repression, dynamics of radicalization, protest policing, militant democracy, Political Opportunity Theory

The research aims to identify and explain the dynamics of Blockupy radicalization. It explores the activity of the movement during the whole cycle of anti-austerity mobilization. The analysis addresses the research problems of why, despite the declared peaceful orientation, the movement radicalized immediately after its rise, what its dynamics of radicalization was, and what informed the radicalization processes.

Research hypotheses are theory-driven and draw on the Political Opportunity Theory. According to the hypothesis, repression might have informed the dynamics of radicalization. The closer the protest policing was to the escalated force model, the higher was the extent of Blockupy radicalization. The adoption of features of negotiated management by the protest policing influenced the movement deradicalization. Finally, the duration of repression might have informed the dynamics of radicalization.

The research uses the qualitative method of sources analysis and the technique of conceptual, qualitative content analysis. The sources are the information on Blockupy protest events provided by the Federal Ministry of the Interior (Germany) and GDELT datasets.

The analysis revealed that during the first two phases of Blockupy radicalization, the police employed an extremely repressive type of protest policing, which was the escalated force model. Since the third phase of radicalization, the model took on the characteristics of the negotiated management model. The fact and duration of police repression informed the dynamics of Blockupy radicalization. The closer the protest policing was to the escalated force model, the higher was the extent of Blockupy radicalization. Still, the increase in radicalization occurred in the subsequent phases of contention rather than immediately. Despite the peaceful blueprint, the movement radicalized immediately after its rise due to the existing dominating model of repressive protest policing in Germany.

Bartłomiej Różycki

Keywords: national identity, historical narratives, populism, sites of memory, German Democratic Republic (GDR), Alternative for Germany (AfD)

In the age of the division, the authorities of both German states shaped their own official historical narratives. The German Democratic Republic, despite being a communist state, also formed its own narrative, which shaped the national identity of its citizens using particular sites of memory. Those sites were largely erased after the unification, when the Western historical narrative became the dominant one. It did not necessarily result in the creation of a universal national identity.

The citizens of the former GDR, feeling that their own identity was endangered, appeared to be prone to the populist messages, which referred to the narratives they were familiar with. The article analyzes the shift of narrative of the German Democratic Republic after the unification and the populist actions of the political parties, which gained the support of the *Ossis* after focusing on to the problem of their identity.

This analysis constitutes an attempt to answer the question of the outstanding popularity of the Alternative for Germany (AfD) in the Eastern regions of Germany.

Agnieszka Szczepaniak-Kroll

Keywords: leadership, migrant organizations, women leaders, migrations, women migrants, Berlin

The article is a contribution to the trend in anthropological studies on the relations of power. It refers to Pierre Bourdieu's theory that power is wielded by people with a certain habitus, or disposition. The leadership of Polish women in migrant associations is a special kind of power, as it is non-violent power. It is founded on their specific ability to influence others, and used in building relations with members of associations that function as partnerships based on cooperation. The heroines of this article – female activists from the migrant environment and working on behalf of migrants, thanks to their style of activity joined a small group of women who managed to pass through the so-called leadership labyrinth in a masculinized milieu of leaders of broadly conceived organizations.

The text is intended to answer the question who are those women leaders in Germany, in Berlin – Poles organizing aid for others, creating new strategies of functioning in this area. The aim is to determine what induced them to undertake this kind of activity, how their actions are currently targeted and what characterizes the leadership of the Poles, making it extremely effective.

The article is based on the thesis that the strategies of activity of the women leaders manifest the characteristics of increasingly valued transformational leadership, in a feminine version, giving it a special peculiarity, additionally shaped by specific migration conditions.

The presented material is based on research conducted by the author, an anthropologist, in Germany between 2015-2018. Field work of a qualitative nature was carried out using the technique of semi-structured and family interviews.

The article is a study of two selected cases which are representative of other similar cases observed in Berlin. Its purpose is to offer an insight into a certain phenomenon and at the same time a dynamically developing process, which defines the specificity and one of the directions of the activity of migrant organizations, not only in the German context.

Agnieszka Szudarek

Keywords: history of Germany in the 20th century, women's movement in Germany, women's political rights in Germany, German emancipation discourse

In November 1918, the revolutionary government in Germany gave women the right to vote. The aim of the article is to show the different interpretative perspectives from which this event is presented in the literature of the subject, and then to answer the question whether the pursuits of the bourgeois women activists who since the 1890s were increasingly seeking the fullness of political rights for women, could have been successful. In other words, could women in Wilhelminian Germany obtain the right to vote.

In order to answer the above research problem, several research methods were employed, such as critical analysis of the literature and sources, comparative method and contextual analysis. The use of the latter method was important to identify the background of the ideological debate on women's political rights in the environment of German suffragettes and to indicate the role of the paradigm of motherhood in building public acceptance of women's participation in politics.

The grounding of women's claims to electoral rights in their social tasks was not unique to the German debate on political gender equality. However, this argument was insufficient for the German ruling elites, as was women's work for the state during the war years. The announcement of systemic changes in the spring of 1917 did not take into account the right to vote for women. Years of cooperation of bourgeois women activists with liberals and awareness-raising actions did not bring the expected results.

From the conducted analyses it follows that in the Wilhelminian Reich women could not count on full participation in political life within a short time span. The revolution changed the legal order in Germany, but did not stop the public debate on the subject. Its achievements were used in the election campaign to the National Assembly and thus contributed to a high turnout among women.

Joanna Trajman

Keywords: Alternative for Germany, social role of women, gender equality, gender mainstreaming, women voters of AfD

The evolution of the political party Alternative for Germany from the Eurosceptic party that emerged from the criticism of the German federal policy during the eurozone crisis, to the right-wing populist group that builds its political capital by promoting anti-immigration and racist slogans, has contributed to determining the party's attitude towards women, their role in the society and gender equality.

The purpose of this article is to present – on the basis of the analysis of the group's programming documents as well as the political speeches of the party members in the media – how the AfD perceives the role of women in the German society, which model of gender relations it promotes and what its view is on the equality between men and women. Moreover, an attempt was made to answer the question about the appeal of the presented vision to the female electorate. The domination of the national conservative wing in the party caused the group's allegiance to traditional social roles held by both genders, recognizes family as the highest value and treats women in an objective way, reducing their existence to reproductive and educational functions. The group negates the legislation in terms of implementation of the provisions of the German Basic Law on equality between women and men, as well as the execution of the gender equality policy in accordance with the European Union gender mainstreaming strategy. The migration crisis has also contributed to the political alteration by the group of the topics relevant from the point of view of the female part of the society and using those topics to picture the threat to the national security posed by foreigners with a different culture and religion.

Narrative literature from the area under study was reviewed and the methodology of political sciences was employed.

Dariusz Wojtaszyn

Keywords: football/soccer - *1. FC Union Berlin - Hertha BSC Berlin*, Berlin Wall , supporters

The aim of the article is an attempt to present football relations between the most important, best and most influential teams in Berlin - *Hertha BSC Berlin* and *1. FC Union Berlin*. The two teams are diametrically different from each other - they come from the western and eastern part of the city, have different history, social background and philosophy and strategy of the club. The history of both clubs provides a background for showing the relations between the Berlin football fans.

The analysis - covering the period since the 1970s, i.e. the period of constructing an organised supporter movement - has shown that the mutual relations between the supporters can be treated as a symbolic instance of the complicated relations between the citizens of East and West (both Berlin and the whole Germany). The situation in Berlin's supporter community reflects the history of the city's growing together and the mutual relations between its eastern and western part and its inhabitants. Football has been treated as a kind of medium through which the convictions of large social groups are most freely expressed, reflecting the sympathy and antipathy of the city's inhabitants.

A review of the narrative literature of the subject was carried out and the methodology of political sciences was used.

Krzysztof Żarna

Keywords: Slovak Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, foreign policy, European Union, international relations

The article concerns the importance of the Federal Republic of Germany in the foreign policy of the Slovak Republic. The analysis covered the period from the creation of the Slovak Republic (January 1, 1993) to the termination of Mikuláš Dzurinda's rule in 2002. The role of Germany in the foreign policy of Slovakia during the rule of Vladimír Mečiar, Jozef Moravčík and Mikuláš Dzurinda was presented.

The following hypotheses were assumed: taking into account bilateral relations, in the years 1993–2002 the Slovak Republic had the worst relations with the Republic of Hungary and Ukraine, while it is difficult to find any negative factors that would affect relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, outside the period of V. Mečiar's rule, when human rights were abused. Secondly, Germany, due to its position in the European Union, played an important, though not decisive role in the process of Slovakia's accession to this organization. A

comparative method was used to verify the hypotheses. The policies of particular governments in Bratislava towards Germany were compared.

The method of decision analysis was also employed, which allowed for the presentation of situations and processes that are the culmination of decisions taken by representatives of the Slovak authorities. The institutional and legal method allowed to analyze legal acts and multilateral and bilateral agreements to which the Slovak Republic was a party.